

Message Text

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FM AMEMBASSY WARSAW
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4524
INFO AMEMBASSY PRAGUE
AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
AMEMBASSY BERLIN
AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST
AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMEMBASSY SOFIA
USMISSION USNATO
AMCONSUL KRAKOW POUCH
AMCONSUL POZNAN POUCH

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 4 WARSAW 3171

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: CSCE SHUM PL NATO
SUBJ: MONITORING OF POLISH CSCE IMPLEMENTATION: SPRING 1978

REF: (A) 76 STATE 84043; (B) 76 STATE 224882; (C) 77 WARSAW 8153;
D. STATE 65811; E. STATE 88885

1. GENERAL:

BY WESTERN STANDARDS, POLAND'S RECORD ON HUMAN RIGHTS HAS CHANGED
LITTLE SINCE THE PREVIOUS REPORT (REF E). THE GIEREK REGIME HAS
NOT CRACKED DOWN ON DISSIDENT ACTIVITY IN A MANNER COMPARABLE TO
THAT EMPLOYED BY SOME OF ITS NEIGHBORS. NEITHER HAS IT AUTHORIZED
SIGNIFICANT LIBERALIZATION IN THE OFFICIAL STANCE TOWARDS VIEWS
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AT VARIANCE WITH THE ACCEPTED LINE. ITS APPROACH TO DISSIDENCE
COULD BE DESCRIBED AS A GRUDGING TOLERATION OF DISSIDENT ACT-
IVITIES, PUNCTUATED BY OUTBREAKS OF HARASSMENT, SOME OF IT PETTY.
DISSIDENTS ARE WATCHED BUT, EXCEPTING A FEW PROMINENT ACTIVISTS,
FOR THE MOST PART NOT HOUNDED. DISSIDENT PUBLICATIONS, AND PRINT-
ING AND REPRODUCTION EQUIPMENT, ARE OCCASIONALLY CONFISCATED, BUT
POLISH SAMIZDAT CONTINUES TO FLOURISH. DISSIDENT SOURCES HAVE

REPORTED HUNDREDS OF HOUSE SEARCHES BY POLICE, BUT CHARGES ARE RARELY FILED. THE LECTURERS AND STUDENTS OF THE "FLYING UNIVERSITY" (THE POLISH VERSIONS OF AN ALTERNATIVE UNIVERSITY, ENJOYING AN IMPRESSIVE HISTORICAL PEDIGREE IN POLISH EYES) HAVE BEEN THE PRIME TARGETS OF POLICE HARASSMENT SINCE FEBRUARY. IN SOME CASES, THE POLICE HAVE BEATEN UP AND/OR DETAINED PARTICIPANTS, BUT, IN THE LATTER CASE, NOT IN EXCESS OF THE 48-HOUR LIMITATION SO FAR AS WE KNOW. SOME HAVE BEEN FINED BECAUSE THEY ALLOWED THESE LECTURES, DESCRIBED IN POLICE BLOTTERS AS ILLEGAL MEETINGS, TO TAKE PLACE IN THEIR APARTMENTS.

2. THE CLIMATE IN CHURCH-STATE RELATIONS HAS WARMED SOMEWHAT FOLLOWING PARTY FIRST SECRETARY EDWARD GIEREK'S MEETINGS WITH POLISH PRIMATE STEFAN CARDINAL WYSZYNSKI AND POPE PAUL LATE LAST YEAR. THUS FAR, HOWEVER, THIS IMPROVEMENT IN ATMOSPHERE HAS YIELDED FEW TANGIBLE RESULTS BENEFITTING THE CHURCH. DESPITE THE HIGHLY PUBLICIZED GRANTING OF A NUMBER OF CHURCH CONSTRUCTION PERMITS SIX MONTHS AGO, THE TOTAL NUMBER OF SUCH PERMITS ISSUED IN ALL OF 1977 WAS LITTLE HIGHER THAN IN 1975. THE CHURCH HAS YET TO RECEIVE FAVORABLE RESPONSES TO ITS REQUESTS FOR ACCESS TO THE MASS MEDIA, TRAINING OF PRIESTS UNFETTERED BY GOVERNMENT REGULATIONS, PENSIONS FOR PRIESTS, AND THE REINTRODUCTION OF RELIGIOUS TRAINING TO THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS.

3. CENSORSHIP REMAINS PERVASIVE AND ALL-ENCOMPASSING. A JANUARY SERMON BY CARDINAL WYSZYNSKI, PUBLISHED ABOUT A MONTH LATER IN CONFIDENTIAL

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THE CATHOLIC WEEKLY TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY, PASSED THE CENSOR UNSCATHED. HOWEVER, THE AUTHORIZED PUBLICATION FOR THE FIRST TIME OF THE FULL TEXT OF A SERMON IS PROBABLY AN EXCEPTION RATHER THAN A PRECEDENT. SOME WRITERS ATTACKED CENSORSHIP AT THE RECENT CONGRESS OF THE UNION OF POLISH WRITERS. A FEW WRITERS ESPOUSING RELAXATION OR ABOLITION OF CENSORSHIP WERE ELECTED TO THE 25-PERSON BOARD OF THE UNION. HOWEVER, IT IS HIGHLY UNLIKELY THEY SWING ENOUGH WEIGHT TO SHAKE, MUCH LESS TOPPLE, THE PONDEROUS APPARATUS OF CENSORSHIP BECAUSE CULTURAL POLICY, FOR THE TIME BEING AT LEAST, IS IN THE HANDS OF PARTY SECRETARY JERZY LUKASZEWSZEWICZ, WIDELY CONSIDERED TO BE A PROPONENT OF A TOUGH LINE IN CULTURAL AFFAIRS.

4. OVER THE PAST FIVE MONTHS AND ESPECIALLY SINCE THE WINDUP OF THE BELGRADE REVIEW CONFERENCE, THE POLISH MEDIA HAVE NOT SHIED AWAY FROM THE ISSUE OF HUMAN RIGHTS. IN FACT, A COUNTEROFFENSIVE ON HUMAN RIGHTS HAS BEEN LAUNCHED AS PART OF THE STRIDENT CAMPAIGN WAGED AGAINST THE NEUTRON "BOMB". "THE RIGHT TO LIFE", "THE RIGHT TO LIVE IN PEACE", AND THE "RIGHT TO WORK" ARE THE MOST POPULAR SLOGANS. THE RECORD OF THE GOP IN THE PROTECTION OF THESE "MOST FUNDAMENTAL" OF HUMAN RIGHTS, ACCORDING TO THE POLISH MEDIA, IS UNIMPEACHABLE.

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 4 WARSAW 3171

5. WORKING CONDITIONS FOR U.S. BUSINESSMEN:

A. ACCESS OF AMERICAN BUSINESS FIRMS TO END-USERS IS UNCHANGED.
THE DEGREE OF SUCCESS DEPENDS UPON THE ABILITIES OF THE COMPANIES
INVOLVED AND THE INTEREST OF THE POLES IN THE PRODUCT. THE
GENERAL CONDITIONS ARE GOOD.

B. POLISH LAW ON THE ESTABLISHMENT OF BUSINESS OFFICES IN POLAND
IS UNCHANGED. A SLIGHT CHANGE HAS OCCURRED IN THE ENFORCEMENT OF
EXISTING STATUTES, HOWEVER. OFFICES CLASSIFIED AS "BRANCH OFFICES"
ARE TAXED, BUT OFFICES CLASSIFIED AS "TECHNICAL INFORMATION
OFFICES" ARE NOT TAXED. FIRMS HAVE OBVIOUSLY SOUGHT TO BE
DESIGNATED AS THE LATTER. THE GOP HAS RECENTLY BECOME MORE
STRINGENT IN APPLYING THESE CLASSIFICATIONS SO THAT FEWER FIRMS
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ARE RECEIVING THE FAVORABLE TAX TREATMENT.

C. POLAND HAS CONTINUED TO BUILD MORE HOTELS AND BUILDINGS TO CATER TO WESTERN BUSINESSES. RENTAL COSTS ARE HIGH, BUT AVAILABILITY IS NO PROBLEM FOR THOSE WILLING TO PAY THE PRICE.

D. ORGANIZATION INFORMATION IS GENERALLY AVAILABLE. NAMES OF DIRECTORS AND OTHER KEY DECISION MAKERS ARE AVAILABLE TO THE GENERAL BUSINESS COMMUNITY. ECONOMIC STATISTICS AND OVERALL PLANNING DATA ARE NOT AVAILABLE. THE POLISH GOVERNMENT HAS BEEN VERY RELUCTANT TO SHARE ECONOMIC STATISTICS IN GENERAL AND FINANCIAL INFORMATION IN PARTICULAR.

E. THE GOP IS STILL INTERESTED IN COOPERATIVE AGREEMENTS WITH U.S. FIRMS. WE CANNOT DETERMINE, HOWEVER, WHETHER THE NUMBER OF SUCH ARRANGEMENTS WITH AMERICAN COMPANIES HAS INCREASED OR DECREASED SIGNIFICANTLY.

6. FAMILY MEETINGS:

A. TO BE PROVIDED BY WASHINGTON.

B. PASSPORTS VALID FOR TRAVEL TO THE WEST REMAIN A PRIVILEGE RATHER THAN A RIGHT. BEFORE ISSUING A PASSPORT THE AUTHORITIES WEIGH SEVERAL FACTORS. AMONG THESE IS THE STATE'S INVESTMENT OF TIME AND MONEY IN THE APPLICANT. ALL OTHER THINGS BEING EQUAL, FOR EXAMPLE, A PRIVATE FARMER IS MORE LIKELY TO RECEIVE A PASSPORT THAN A DOCTOR OR ENGINEER. MOST AMERICANS CAN VISIT RELATIVES IN POLAND WITHOUT DIFFICULTY. HOWEVER, THERE ARE DISTURBING SIGNS OF SYSTEMATIC REJECTION OF VISA APPLICATIONS BY FOREIGN NATIONALS OF POLISH JEWISH ORIGIN WHO LEFT POLAND AS A CONSEQUENCE OF THE 1968 PURGE OF JEWS. THE SWEDISH EMBASSY IN WARSAW HAS RECORDED OVER 90 CASES IN WHICH SUCH PERSONS, NOW

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SWEDISH CITIZENS, WERE REBUFFED BY POLISH AUTHORITIES IN THEIR ATTEMPTS TO VISIT RELATIVES IN POLAND. THE US EMBASSY HAS LEARNED OF A NUMBER OF SIMILAR CASES INVOLVING POLISH JEWS WHO CAME TO THE UNITED STATES AFTER 1968.

C. ALTHOUGH ACQUIRING A PASSPORT VALID FOR THE PURPOSE IS NO CINCH, INCREASING NUMBERS OF POLES HAVE BEEN ABLE TO TRAVEL TO THE WEST. A FAR GREATER NUMBER, HOWEVER, VISIT "SOCIALIST" COUNTRIES WHERE SCARCE HARD CURRENCY IS NOT A NECESSITY TO SURVIVE. THE GOP HAS CONCLUDED AGREEMENTS WITH MOST "SOCIALIST" COUNTRIES TO WAIVE PASSPORT REQUIREMENTS. AMERICAN TOURISM TO POLAND HAS RISEN SOMEWHAT, FROM 43,000 IN 1974 TO OVER 50,000 IN 1977.

7. FAMILY REUNIFICATION:

A. FROM NOVEMBER 1, 1977 THROUGH MARCH 31, 1978, PETITIONS WERE RECEIVED FOR 1,145 PEOPLE HOPING TO EMIGRATE FROM POLAND TO THE UNITED STATES. ALL BUT 15 OF THE APPLICANTS ARE RELATIVES OF CITIZENS OR PERMANENT RESIDENTS OF THE UNITED STATES.

B. TO BE PROVIDED IN WASHINGTON.

C. FROM NOVEMBER 1, 1977 THROUGH MARCH 31, 1978, THE EMBASSY REGISTERED 73 NEW CASES OF DIVIDED NUCLEAR FAMILIES. IN ADDITION, 400 PEOPLE WANTING TO JOIN RELATIVES OUTSIDE THE NUCLEAR FAMILY WERE DENIED EMIGRATION PASSPORTS.

D. LOCAL PASSPORT AUTHORITIES SEEM TO HAVE CONSIDERABLE AUTONOMY. CONSEQUENTLY, THE DEGREE OF DIFFICULTY AND HARDSHIP EXPERIENCED BY PASSPORT APPLICANTS VARIES WIDELY.

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REFUSALS, OR AT BEST LONG DELAYS IN ISSUANCE, ARE COMMON.
HOWEVER, A PERSISTENT APPLICANT CAN SOMETIMES WEAR DOWN THE RESISTANCE OF THE AUTHORITIES. APPLICANTS (A) WITH SKILLS LITTLE

IN DEMAND IN POLAND, AND (B) HAVING SPONSORS IN THE UNITED STATES WHO DID NOT LEAVE POLAND ILLEGALLY, STAND THE BEST CHANCE TO RECEIVE EMIGRANT PASSPORTS.

E. THIRTY-FIVE DIVIDED FAMILY CASES WERE FAVORABLY RESOLVED JUST BEFORE PRESIDENT CARTER'S DECEMBER, 1977, VISIT TO POLAND. DURING THE VISIT, POLISH FOREIGN MINISTER WOJTASZEK PROMISED SECRETARY VANCE PROMPT RECONSIDERATION OF THREE HARD-CORE CASES PRESENTED BY THE EMBASSY. THE SUBSEQUENT POLISH POSITION ON THESE CASES, HOWEVER, HAS BEEN DILATORY AND UNENCOURAGING. IN GENERAL, DESPITE REPEATED INTERVENTIONS BY THE EMBASSY AND HIGH CONFIDENTIAL

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USG OFFICIALS, THE ATTITUDE OF THE GOP TOWARDS FAMILY REUNIFICATION APPEARS TO REMAIN UNCHANGED. AS FIRST SECRETARY GIEREK REITERATED IN AN INTERVIEW WITH AMERICAN JOURNALISTS SHORTLY BEFORE THE PRESIDENT'S VISIT, POLAND OPPOSES, FOR ECONOMIC REASONS, EMIGRATION. GIEREK ARGUED THAT POLAND CAN ILL AFFORD TO LOSE MEMBERS OF THE PRODUCTIVE WORK FORCE.

F. POLISH EMIGRANT DOCUMENTATION COSTS 5,000 ZLOTYS (APPROXIMATELY \$153 AT THE OFFICIAL EXCHANGE RATE OF 32.70 ZLOTYS TO THE DOLLAR).

8. BINATIONAL MARRIAGES:

A. THE EMBASSY KEEPS NO RECORD OF BINATIONAL MARRIAGES.

B. THIRTEEN FIANC(E) VISAS WERE ISSUED BETWEEN NOVEMBER 1 AND MARCH 31.

C. SEVENTY-THREE OF THE CASES OF PASSPORT DENIAL NOTED IN PARA 7C ABOVE INVOLVED THE SPOUSE OR CHILD OF A CITIZEN OR PERMANENT RESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

D. THE ATTITUDE OF THE POLISH GOVERNMENT TOWARDS BINATIONAL MARRIAGES HAS NOT CHANGED PERCEPTIBLY SINCE HELSINKI.

9. TRAVEL AND TOURISM:

A. TO BE PROVIDED IN WASHINGTON.

B. ACCORDING TO POLISH STATISTICS, 11,101 AMERICANS VISITED POLAND BETWEEN OCTOBER 1, 1977 AND MARCH 31, 1978. A TOTAL OF 52,133 AMERICANS VISITED POLAND IN 1977.

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C. TOURIST VISAS TAKE ONE TO ONE AND A HALF HOURS TO ISSUE. OFFICIAL AND BUSINESS VISAS THAT REQUIRE A WAIVER OF INELIGIBILITY TAKE FROM ONE TO FIVE WORKING DAYS TO ISSUE. VISA FEES ARE CHARGED ON THE BASIS OF RECIPROCITY. THE FIGURES ARE SET OUT IN THE SUCCEEDING PARAGRAPH.

D. MOST POLISH TOURIST VISAS ARE ISSUED BY MAIL AND CAN BE OBTAINED IN A WEEK OR TWO. BUSINESS VISITORS ARE ACCORDED THE SAME SERVICE. VISAS FOR U.S. OFFICIALS ASSIGNED TO AMERICAN DIPLOMATIC ESTABLISHMENTS IN POLAND ARE ISSUED WITHOUT CHARGE, USUALLY WITHIN TWO WEEKS. TOURIST AND BUSINESS VISAS COST \$10. THE CHARGE FOR A TRANSIT VISA IS \$5.50. VISAS FOR STUDENTS AND THEIR DEPENDENTS COST \$14.50, WHILE JOURNALISTS AND RESIDENT BUSINESSMEN MUST PAY \$21.

E. ONE MONTH TO SIX WEEKS FOR TOURISTS.

F. OFFICIAL POLISH POLICY TOWARDS TOURISM HAS CHANGED LITTLE SINCE HELSINKI. AGREEMENTS HAVE BEEN CONCLUDED WITH "SOCIALIST" COUNTRIES TO PERMIT TOURIST TRAVEL WITHOUT PASSPORTS. TRAVEL TO THE WEST IS ON THE INCREASE, BUT THE CAPRICIOUSNESS OF PASSPORT ISSUANCE AND THE LIMITED AVAILABILITY OF HARD CURRENCY, LIMIT THE NUMBER WHO CAN VACATION THERE.

10. INFORMATION:

A. ONLY THREE AMERICAN PUBLICATIONS ARE CIRCULATED IN POLAND:

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NEWSWEEK, TIME AND THE INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE. CIRCULATION IS VERY LIMITED. A WIDE VARIETY OF U.S. GENERAL INTEREST AND SPECIALIZED PERIODICALS ARE OBTAINABLE THROUGH OFFICIAL OR PRIVATE SUBSCRIPTIONS, BUT THE NUMBER OF COPIES IS MINISCULE.

B. THE ACCESS OF THE POLISH PUBLIC TO WESTERN PUBLICATIONS IS EXTREMELY LIMITED. CERTAIN WESTERN PUBLICATIONS CAN BE PURCHASED AT SOME "INTERNATIONAL BOOK AND PRESS CLUB" OUTLETS; COPIES ALSO MAY BE READ IN CLUB READING ROOMS. WITH THE EXCEPTION OF THE FRENCH COMMUNIST L'HUMANITE, NO WESTERN PUBLICATIONS ARE SOLD AT THE NEWSSTANDS WHERE POLISH NEWSPAPERS AND MAGAZINES ARE SOLD, ASIDE FROM KIOSKS AT AIRPORTS AND SOME HOTELS. POLES MUST PAY FOR SUBSCRIPTIONS TO WESTERN PUBLICATIONS IN HARD CURRENCY OR RECEIVE THEM AS GIFTS FROM RELATIVES OR FRIENDS IN
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THE WEST. MAIL DELIVERY IS SLOW AND COPIES OFTEN DO NOT REACH THE SUBSCRIBER.

C. THE INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE IS RARELY AVAILABLE EVEN AT LUXURY CLASS HOTELS WHICH CATER TO WESTERNERS, UNLESS THE HOTEL IS HOSTING PARTICIPANTS IN AN INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE OR SIMILAR EVENT WITH WESTERN PARTICIPATION. COPIES APPEAR DURING THESE EVENTS, BUT QUICKLY DISAPPEAR AGAIN AT THEIR CONCLUSION.

D. APPROXIMATELY SIX AMERICAN FILMS ARE SHOWN IN WARSAW CINEMAS ON ANY GIVEN DAY. FILM POLSKI BOUGHT 17 NEW AMERICAN FILMS IN 1977. AMERICAN MOVIES PROVIDE POPULAR TELEVISION ENTERTAINMENT. AMERICAN TELEVISION SERIES RECENTLY PURCHASED FOR POLISH TELEVISION INCLUDE POLICEWOMAN, SERPICO, AND RICH MAN, POOR MAN.

E. VOA IS NOT JAMMED. RFE IS JAMMED FROM VARIOUS LOCATIONS WITHIN POLAND, BUT IT IS USUALLY POSSIBLE TO CATCH AN AUDIBLE SIGNAL ON AT LEAST ONE FREQUENCY AT ANY GIVEN TIME.

F. POLITICAL CONSIDERATIONS PLAY A LARGE ROLE IN POLISH DECISIONS TO PURCHASE AMERICAN FILMS. ALTHOUGH "ONE FLEW OVER THE CUCKOO'S NEST" ATTRACTED WIDESPREAD ATTENTION IN POLAND, IT WAS NOT SHOWN IN POLISH CINEMAS - ALTHOUGH A POLISH VERSION HAS BEEN STAGED IN WARSAW - BECAUSE IT DEPICTS THE INCARCERATION OF A

SANE MAN IN A MENTAL INSTITUTION. POLISH OFFICIALS APPARENTLY
FEARED THAT POLISH AUDIENCES WOULD DRAW PARALLELS BETWEEN THE
FILM AND THEIR OWN LOT.

11. WORKING CONDITIONS FOR JOURNALISTS:

A. NO AMERICAN JOURNALIST HAS RECEIVED A MULTIPLE-ENTRY VISA.
THE GOP DOES NOT, IN GENERAL, ISSUE MULTIPLE-ENTRY VISAS TO
WESTERN JOURNALISTS.
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B. BOYDEN MARISON, A VOA EMPLOYEE, WAS REFUSED A POLISH VISA TO
ATTEND A COURSE ON CONTEMPORARY POLAND HELD AT WARSAW UNIVERSITY
IN 1977.

C. NO VISAS HAVE BEEN DELAYED MORE THAN SIX MONTHS.

D. NO AMERICANS ARE PERMANENTLY ACCREDITED TO POLAND. POLISH
STRINGERS REPRESENT UPI AND AP.

E. NO AMERICAN JOURNALISTS HAVE BEEN EXPELLED FROM POLAND.

F. OFFICIAL POLISH COOPERATION WITH VISITING AMERICAN JOURNALISTS
IS SATISFACTORY. WESTERN JOURNALISTS HAVE OCCASIONALLY BEEN
ADVISED TO AVOID CERTAIN STORIES, BUT IN GENERAL THERE IS NO
RESTRAINT ON CONTACTS WITH NON-OFFICIAL SOURCES.

G. 1 FIVE POLISH JOURNALISTS ARE ACCREDITED TO THE UNITED STATES.

2. THE EMBASSY ISSUED 29 JOURNALIST VISAS TO POLES IN 1977.

H. NONE.

I. NONE.
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